the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconvenience, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rawandūz has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, artisans, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chief-bale" over his fellows, and the daughter of a labourer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rawandūz not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

put on dark coloured clothing, black or deep blue. For 765
most persons, an annual visit to the grave is required,
and at this time a sheep is sacrificed and its flesh dis-
tributed to the poor. Wealthier persons may enjoy weekly
visits and sacrifices, and those of the lower classes
most often ignore even the yearly sacrifice. The funerals 764
of women and children, depending on the status of their 562
husbands or fathers, are conducted with less ostentation. 958
There is no definite pattern of commemoration, weekly or
annual, and, in answer to the inquiry, it was always said
that these memorial parties of both men and women visited
the graves "as long as all shall live."

The cemetery of Rawandus occupies the flat crest of 764
the hill behind the town, and is dominated by a large oak
tree, one of the few in the area, a point which will be [197]
encountered again. The graves are oriented in parallel
lines with their heads pointed to the northwest. Most are
oblong mounds plastered with mortar rising about a foot
above the surface of the ground with a crudely hewn slab
of stone, several feet in height, at each end. In some
cases, the headstone of one serves as the foot of the
next. Only a few have inscriptions, some etched and
others carved in relief, and there was only one sarcophagus [211]
in the graveyard, a box of stone slabs bound with metal
clamps and elaborately carved decorations. Family burial
plots are separated by low fences of interlaced thorn.
Two graves were surrounded by a low, quadrilateral rubble 766
wall, indicating the grave of a *sayid*, a descendant of

The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband subject

[illegible] neighbours' persons, to indirect supplications about one wife more[illegible], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[illegible] by sewing triangular amulet pockets onto its clothes, and by fixing ornaments to its hair and plac[illegible] beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

[illegible] Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Koran. According to Jaydah[illegible] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Sharaf[illegible], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

[illegible] Naming ceremony. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mullah, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Haweh (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kemal, Mahmud, Majid, Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sardar, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Adya, Galla, Mallya, Nahid, Nahida, Sahiba.*

[illegible] In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surnames[illegible]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taffie. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taffie* and his brother, usually called "*Mamo(a)-Taffie*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qadir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kakol Rizi* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rizi*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taffie was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardar*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[illegible] and Lerch[illegible], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[illegible] and also that, as maintained by Lerch: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[illegible]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[illegible].

[illegible] Addresses like these, used in Arabia and Iran[illegible] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

[illegible] Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henry, not Madame Hanem). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "Khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[illegible]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taffie's wife Ne'ma Khan, and was herself referred to as Mallya Khan.

[illegible] *The Uninjurious child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises[8]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it[9]. 855 854

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks. 855 856

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often bag our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, recreation and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered to definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an secured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults. 858 859

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Christ has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time[10]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even when there were many, because life in the home and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the occupations we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene primitive. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the loss of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently convenient with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggression with subsequent punishment and the 857 856 861 862 863 864 865 866 867

[illegible] subject of the discussion is usually from the large, [illegible] school for the more educating school. The distribution of work between the various generations of women in the home, where the younger worked on the elder, is then destroyed and replaced by the economic. Also dissolved is the stable family hierarchy still to be found in the villages, where the children from quite a young age take their due places, their duties increasing with age, a system based on the serving of the elder by the younger, the boys by the girls.

Mead[illegible] says that it is regrettable that Iranian children have no childhood. Longing and Mead[illegible] remark that childhood in Iran is no definite age, but rather a matter of relation or not one is regarded as adult. Accordingly, the time until the child becomes a small adult with responsibility was made as short as possible.

In my opinion our culture and form of schooling places a far heavier burden on our children than is the case among the Kurds. We isolate children from adults, both in regard to work and leisure, in order that later they shall be able to become the big domestic needs upon them by an industrialised society. As a result the home becomes a type of service station, where everything is arranged for the child to be able to attend to the schooling as well as possible in order to be equipped for the severe competition facing it later on. The home does not become a place where the child becomes a member of a small community, possessing its definite position and duties, which gives a far earlier and greater maturity than that provided by any amount of school attendance.

Among the Kurds it also appeared as though schooling was being seen only grey, and the younger generation in Sulaimani seemed to regard religion and other goals with it from an historical angle. None of the school-taught young men or women took part in daily prayers. Islam's heavy religious demands on daily life would seem to be incompatible with attendance at school. But what can be

The position of the child in and outside the home.

Country	Village Kurdistan		Urban		Urban		Urban	
	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys
Work in home								
Work outside home								
Schooling								
Spare time								

A remark in girls in all four Kurdish environments is assistance in the home according to age, thereby the girl acquires the necessary training in domestic activities. On the bigger girls also the charge of their smaller brothers and sisters, thus relieving the required knowledge of child care.

In the case of girls of the Sunnite village milieu, also help in the adult women in work outside the home, collecting firewood of water etc. Boy girls in an urban milieu, both educational and environmental, also school attendance.

The common feature of the boys working in the "urban milieu" life with their mothers in the home. In a village milieu they were sent to the men's agricultural activities, particularly the grazing of sheep and goats and the collection of fodder. In an urban-rural village milieu the boys are sent away to school to serve the Sulaimani and Erbil. In the two urban environments the boys attend local schools. Among the peasants the boy only attends school should there be a preparatory school in the village, and in the cases that the work in the fields are the dispersed with.

[illegible] 584 364

[illegible] are just as binding as marriage is mentioned by Blackman[illegible] in regard to the Egyptian fellahin. On the other hand, he was never alone with his fiancée. My interpreter was always present in the guest room when the two young people were talking together, and he did not very often pay a visit. They never went to the cinema or paid calls together. She wore the white veil over her head when speaking to him, but at the same time went about in a remarkably shameless way, attired in old, dirty clothes. The two young people were to go together to Baghdad to buy furniture and clothes with that part of the paid-up bride price that was not to be expended in jewellery. The furniture here proves to be in the most modern Baghdadi style, bedrooms only in polished wood and no beds. My interpreter, the elder sister, joined the party which consisted of the couple and a half-sister, 13 years old, who was to be given the chance of seeing the capital. They stayed at an Anglo-Arab hotel in the main thoroughfare, Rashid Street. My interpreter informed me that all four shared a room in which they had both slept and eaten their meals, prepared food having been brought at shops in the town. In at home there was no embroidering at night. Later I stayed with my interpreter and her 20-year old brother at the same hotel. Here also only one room was ordered for the three of us. During the stay at Baghdad the young couple were never alone but under the surveillance of the two sisters with them. [515]

When the prospective bride was not in association by her with the women of the house and her elder brother, she (and the other women) were shut and veil, great care being taken that the veil was not lifted or shifted. It was explained that this was in order that nothing could be said about her either by her prospective husband or her future in-laws. There was no actual sign of avoidance as is mentioned by Champion[illegible] in regard to the Palestinian Arabs, where the young people must not meet each other while they are engaged, and the prospective bride must hide herself when the young man pays a visit to the house. However, the young people in my interpreter's house at Sulaimani appeared to be surrounded by more restrictions in their affianced state than they had been when they first met as colleagues at the school.

The bride price[illegible], its employment and sociological significance. 583

The bride price made is mentioned in the Koran, Sura 4, verse 4 and Sura 5, verse 5, as the ordained marriage-gift, for it expressly lays down that the Faithful are permitted to take in marriage virtuous women of the believers and virtuous women of the people who received the scripture earlier—that is to say Jews and Christians, when they give them their marriage portions and live with them in honour. As early as 1778 Niebuhr reports that the Kurds in the then Turkish territories differed from Old Arabs in that greater pleasure was evinced at the birth of a daughter than of a son, as a good bride price could now be obtained for her, only a small consideration being given for the sons, whereas the Arabs and Turks regard the whole bride price as the bride's affairs and even add to it. Niebuhr concludes by saying "Many daughters are thus with them a source of wealth"[illegible]. [658] [659]

In a Swedish village called, Sollina, I was told that a 11-12 year old bride was acquired for a bride price of 20 DKr., plus a dress for the bride. Whether the cash the paid was in cash or in kind, cattle etc. was not stated. Bishop[illegible] says of the Bakhtiari that the bride price was to paid in the form of a

ceremony under her his wife again within the above-mentioned period[illegible]. Should he have pronounced 586
policy three times or have stated it twice on the first occasion, the wife must contract a pro forma marriage 587
with another man and must be recommend by this "temporary husband" before the husband can take her back[illegible]. The Koran forbids the practice of abstinence, or if you will, a semi-divorce within marriage, [587]
that is to say, that the husband declares: "Let thy back be to me as my mother's", known as *zihar* (*zahr* = back)[illegible]. In this case the wife will not obtain the right to return to her family home with everything she brought into the marriage, plus what she may herself have earned and that part of the bride price (usually one third) that has been put aside for such a contingency, and with a view to facilitating a new marriage.

On her side the wife has the following possibilities of securing the dissolution of the marriage. The 562
marriage contract can contain a clause to the effect that neglect on the part of the husband gives the 586
wife the right to regard the marriage as dissolved, by repaying the bride price, if she can prove before a judge that the man does not fulfil his obligations in regard to maintaining her in accordance with her station, in cases of certain illnesses or if it should transpire that he is of poorer birth than stated.

On contracting marriage the husband undertakes to provide for the wife; she in return engages to 586
present him with children, which means that the children born belong to the man's house. If the [158]
marriage is dissolved while the children are small, the wife takes with her male children under two years of age[illegible], girls under nine (or up to puberty), whereafter they return to the husband's house. On marriage, therefore, the woman runs the risk of being repudiated (attempts being made to reduce this by the fixing of a high bride price, and particularly by making as high as possible that part of it set aside for possible later payment); she also runs the risk of sharing the man with another wife or more. The husband runs a risk that the wife the women of his family have selected for him, whom in most cases he has never seen, is impossible to live with. To meet this contingency he has the immediate right to divorce her and also the right to take other wives.

Having briefly recounted the ordinary rules of bliss within the *aqit* (?) city to which the Kurds 114
belong, I shall now attempt to recount what I experienced during my relatively short stay in Southern Kurdistan in order to throw light on matters concerning divorce and polygamy. I take these two phenomena together for, as will appear below, they are interwoven, and the one is often the reason for the other.

At the time I was able to study the conditions, there was in each of the three or four houses of the 565
village schoolmaster that constitute my material for comparison, only one wife. This happened to be 595
so in the case of the *shaikh* families in Tapawra, Bergale, Shaikh and Sarkan. Essen[illegible] states that the Kurds from north to south are monogamous, an assertion repeated by his wife[illegible]. This does not quite accord with my experience. In Tapawra the servant wife had five children aged 18, 17, 13, 8 and 6. In the house there was also a step-daughter of 12. As illegitimate children are unknown in the [641]
Kurdish pattern of life, the *shaikh*, within a period lying between 1938 and 1945, has had two wives for a shorter or longer period, and the one who only presented him with one child was sent home to her parents.

The sister of the present one, about 30 years of age, was married to an old *shaikh* in Shaikh. There appears here to have been a succession of marriages. Several groups of married men with wives and

795 831 world a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Shaqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "members", and their "people", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It also seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has convinced a certain collectivist on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to his evidence.

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991 989 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and century: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 136), the blow on the bride's head, the food spinned over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 136, 137), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 139). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and concealed varieties, the importance attached to representations of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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989 925 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the urbanisate village settlers, in the humble village settlers and in the condemned urban settlers. They were not used within the educated urban settlers.

989 Amulets are supposed to protect against jinns, devils created by God[1], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and concealed. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 989 [822] A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Darkar); a blue button was hung on a shearing frame (Tuqawra); and a blue button was fastened to a finger sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influences. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[2].

The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2387a), 0.20 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[3], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2387b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[4] and a sampler (E. 2387d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is seemed to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[5]. The chain (E. 2388) was suspended in

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Sulaimani, and is called: *Ashrat*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver hanging bowl. It is this hanging bowl that Kurds call *Ashrat*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[1]. From the chain hang two silver bells[2], two triangular amulet cases of silver[3], two small silver watering cans[4], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[5].

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The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *Ashrabin*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[6] has been inserted to avert evil[7]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *mihrabin*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white conide shells. According to Donaldson[8] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of stone agate[9] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are bangle ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* amulets of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.026 m., [illegible] to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

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These decorative amulets are made by home craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (lips), their shape (small shells), their material (bells), or their material (carnelian, stone agate or onyx).

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Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[10] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[11] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklace worn by women[12]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet pockets of which measure 0.073 × 0.08 × 0.015 and 0.06 × 0.06 × 0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[13] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2292), or like a cylinder[14] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *Mis*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[15]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, where it is a matter of position made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, as far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant mullahs (cf. p. 158). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aforementioned village yellow. Two itinerant mullahs, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Tuparawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

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This category of itinerant holy men who is "particularly conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

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